

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1721

FOR EUR/RPM (JOHN KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- REQUEST FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON EXPERT GROUPS

REFS: (A) STATE 44013; (B) STATE 4333; (C) BELGRADE 1654;
(D) BELGRADE 1669

SUMMARY: OUTSTANDING QUESTION AS NEGOTIATIONS ON CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT REACH CLIMAX IS WHETHER POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS
IN MEDITERRANEAN AND CBMS ARE TO BE CREATED. WE REQUEST
DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS IN LIGHT OF RAPIDLY EVOLVING
SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

1. AS REPORTED SEPTELS, ALL DELEGATIONS ARE NOW WORKING ON
ASSUMPTION THAT BELGRADE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WILL HAVE TO BE VERY
SHORT. THE MAIN OPEN QUESTION IS THE EXTENT OF FOLLOW-UP, IN
PARTICULAR WHETHER POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS OTHER THAN THE
TWO (PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND SCIENTIFIC FORUM)
MANDATED BY THE FINAL ACT ARE TO BE ESTABLISHED.

2. THE SOVIET POSITION IS AMBIGUOUS. SOVIETS ARE ENJOYING
WESTERN DISCOMFORT AT HAVING TO OPPOSE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA)

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WISHES, BUT SOVIETS DO NOT SEEM TO FEEL THEY HAVE MAJOR SUBSTAN-
TIVE BENEFITS TO GAIN FROM THOSE EXPERTS GROUPS THAT ARE UNDER
DISCUSSION. THEY HAVE TOLD AMB. GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR
WHO ARE REPRESENTING ALLIES IN INFORMAL CONTACTS BEING HELD
MARCH 1 THAT THEY CAN LIVE WITH DANISH PAPER, AND WE ARE
ATTEMPTING TO PIN THEIR POSITION DOWN MORE DEFINITELY.

3. HARD CORE PROPONENTS FOR ADDITIONAL POST-BELGRADE ACTIVITY ARE ROMANIA-YUGOSLAVIA-SWEDEN FOR A CBMS GROUP; MALTA FOR A MEDITERRANEAN MEETING, AND SWISS FOR AN INFORMATION MEETING. SOVIETS HAVE SAID THEY WILL NEVER ACCEPT AN INFORMATION MEETING, AND NO ONE TAKES SERIOUSLY SWISS THREAT TO DENY CONSENSUS UNLESS THEY GET ONE. WITH ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND MALTA, THE PROBLEM IS MUCH TOUGHER. THESE THREE COUNTRIES CLEARLY CONSIDER THAT BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED IN OBTAINING POST-BELGRADE GROUPS.

4. ALLIES HAVE THUS FAR HELD FIRM TO POSITION THAT IT IS UNDESIRABLE TO HAVE ADDITIONAL EXPERTS GROUPS IN VIEW OF FACT THAT THERE WOULD BE VIRTUALLY NO OTHER SUBSTANCE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE ACCORDINGLY ARGUED IN CONTACT GROUPS FOR PRINCIPLE THAT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO CREATE ADDITIONAL EXPERT GROUPS SINCE THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO SELECTIVE, PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR A FEW SECTIONS OF FINAL ACT. AMB. GOLDBERG HAS STRESSED FOR TACTICAL REASONS THAT IF ANY ADDITIONAL EXPERT GROUPS WERE TO BE ESTABLISHED, HE WOULD HAVE TO INSIST ON ONE DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. ALLIES ARE CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT IF MEETING REMAINS DEADLOCKED ON THIS ISSUE FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL PERIOD OF TIME, THERE COULD BE RISK OF SERIOUS INJURY TO CSCE PROCESS. IN ADDITION TO POLITICAL COSTS TO WEST IN OPPOSING STRONGLY HELD NNA AND ROMANIAN POSITIONS, SOVIETS COULD SEIZE OPPORTUNITY TO
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BEGIN TO CUT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT EVEN BELOW LEVEL ENVISAGED IN ALLIED DRAFT. SOVIETS ARE TALKING ABOUT HOW LIMITED TIME LEFT TO BELGRADE CONFERENCE IS, AND TODAY THEY ANNOUNCED THAT ON NEW INSTRUCTIONS THEY WERE WITHDRAWING THEIR CONSENT TO FOLLOW-UP LANGUAGE PREVIOUSLY AGREED THAT WOULD HAVE COMMITTED THEM TO BELGRADE/MADRID-STYLE MEETINGS "AT APPROPRIATE INTERVALS." THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT THEY WILL WITHDRAW CONSENT FROM FURTHER APPARENTLY AGREED PROVISIONS IF NEGOTIATIONS DRAG ON SO THAT IN END THERE WOULD BE REAL QUESTION WHETHER MEETING COULD AGREE ON ANY DOCUMENT AT ALL.

6. A NUMBER OF ALLIES, INCLUDING FRG, DUTCH, UK, AND PORTUGUESE, HAVE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY TO RETHINK BASIC POSITION ON EXPERT GROUPS. FOR TIME BEING, HOWEVER, ALLIES SEE PROBLEM AS DIVISIBLE. YUGOSLAVS PROPOSED A CBMS MANDATE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN LIMITED TO TWO SPECIFIC CBMS PROBLEMS: NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVER CEILING.

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THEY SUBSEQUENTLY ACCEPTED AND ROMANIANS INCLUDED IN THEIR PAPER A SOVIET SUGGESTION TO EXPAND SCOPE OF SUCH A MEETING TO INCLUDE "CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT." IN MARCH 1 INFORMAL CONTACTS SOVIETS SEEMED TO TOUGHEN THEIR POSITION FURTHER BY INSISTING THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT ANY MILITARY MEETING SHOULD BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH GENERAL ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT SUBJECTS. ALLIES ARE AGREED THAT SUCH A BROADLY MANDATED EXPERTS GROUP SHOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED. GENERAL BELIEF IS THAT SOVIET POSITION IS A FIRM ONE AND THAT ALLIES CAN EXPECT CONSIDERABLE SYMPATHY IF WE CONTINUE TO REJECT IT. NATO CAUCUS HOPES THAT SOVIETS THUS WILL HAVE TO PAY AT LEAST PART OF POLITICAL COST FOR REJECTING CBMS GROUP, AND WE PROPOSE TO AVOID PUTTING MORE PRESSURE ON EITHER ROMANIANS OR YUGOSLAVS THAN NECESSARY AT THIS POINT.

7. A NUMBER OF ALLIES, INCLUDING FRG AND UK, HAVE SPOKEN OUT IN CAUCUS, HOWEVER, IN FAVOR OF TRYING TO MAKE A DEAL WITH MALTESE IN ORDER TO DRAW THEM AWAY FROM HARD CORE BLOCKING AGREEMENT ON BASIS OF ALLIED DRAFT. MALTESE "COMPROMISE" PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD FEBRUARY 28 (BELGRADE 1667) AS WELL AS ROMANIAN MEDITERRANEAN FORMULATION ARE CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE SINCE BOTH WOULD HOLD OPEN PROSPECT THAT POST-BELGRADE GROUP, INCLUDING SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES, WOULD CONSIDER MEDITERRANEAN POLITICAL/ SECURITY PROBLEMS. MALTESE REP HAS EMPHASIZED AT MARCH 1 INFORMAL-
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MAL MEETINGS THAT MALTESE PROPOSAL WAS FORMULATED IN WAY TO LEAVE OPEN POSSIBILITY THAT MEETING COULD BE AT HIGHER LEVEL THAN EXPERTS AND THAT ITS DURATION COULD BE OPEN-ENDED. FRG AND UK SUGGEST THAT WITHIN NEXT DAY OR SO, ALLIES TELL MALTESE REP

THAT MALTA CAN HAVE A LIMITED DURATION EXPERTS MEETING WITH MANDATE RESTRICTED TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS AS PROPOSED IN ALLIED PAPER BM/75, BUT THAT THIS IS BOTTOM-LINE ALLIED OFFER. (WE RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH AN OFFER TO MALTESE WOULD UNDERCUT PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION TO SELECTIVELY SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT AND MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ALLIES TO MAINTAIN FULLY NEGATIVE POSTURE WITH YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS ON CBMS GROUP.)

8. AMB. GOLDBERG WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS ON WHETHER, IF IT IS REGARDED AS DESIRABLE BY CONSENSUS OF NATO CAUCUS, US COULD ACCEPT A MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP AS CONTAINED IN BM/75 AS EFFECTIVELY ONLY SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENT IN A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

9. WE DO NOT YET HAVE NEED FOR FURTHER DEFINITIVE INSTRUCTIONS ON CBMS. AS REPORTED PARA 6 ABOVE, THERE IS STRONG PROBABILITY THAT SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON A MANDATE FOR SUCH A GROUP THAT WILL REMAIN UNACCEPTABLE TO ALL ALLIES. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE A VOLTE-FACE FROM ALL PREVIOUS ALLIANCE POSITIONS, IT CANNOT BE EXCLUDED, HOWEVER, THAT IN A CRUNCH AT LEAST SOME OF THE ALLIES WILL BEGIN TO FLIRT WITH THE IDEA OF ACCEPTING AN AMBIGUOUSLY MANDATED EXPERTS GROUP IN MILITARY FIELD. IN SUCH A SITUATION, US POSITION MIGHT WELL HAVE DECISIVE EFFECT ON CAUCUS' VIEWS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER THINKING DEPT. MIGHT HAVE, THEREFORE, ON TWO POINTS:

(A) COULD WE ACCEPT A MILITARY GROUP WITH A NARROW MANDATE LIMITED TO CBMS AND, PERHAPS, SOVIET MANEUVER

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CEILING PROPOSAL (NOT GENERALLY SECURITY OR DISARMAMENT THEMES) IN CONTEXT OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WITH SUBSTANTIVE PROVISIONS ONLY IN FOLLOW-UP AREAS? IF THE ANSWER IS AFFIRMATIVE, USDEL WOULD, IF IT APPEARED TACTICALLY USEFUL, SHIFT FOCUS ON OUR OPPOSITION TO CBMS GROUP FROM ONE OF PRINCIPLE TO NATURE OF MANDATE.

(B) COULD WE ACCEPT A MORE AMBIGUOUSLY WORDED MANDATE THAT WOULD OPEN DOOR TO CONSIDERATION OF SOME GENERAL SECURITY OR DISARMAMENT THEMES IF THIS ISSUE IS LAST MAJOR ONE BLOCKING AGREEMENT ON CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND SUBSTANTIAL AFFIRMATIVE SENTIMENT BEGINS TO DEVELOP IN ALLIED CAUCUS THAT THIS IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO PREVENT BREAKUP OF CONFERENCE?

GOLDBERG

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